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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE purpose of the SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, which is likewise the reason for the appearance of its JOURNAL, is twofold: First, to train, by personal supervision, a limited number of young men, who will consecrate a definite portion of their strength and time to a scientific study of the results of archaeology and exploration in the fields of Ancient Semitic and Egyptian languages, literatures, and religions and in that of Ancient Oriental Liturgics, that is, in the general field of the Nearer Ancient Orient. Secondly, to make a contribution, however humble, to the cause of Ancient Oriental studies, at a time when the great masters and leaders in this difficult but important field are unselfishly offering their best to the cause of their several countries.

The pages of the JOURNAL are devoted, primarily, to the publication of the results of investigations carried on by the Fellows of the Society; and, secondarily, to that of articles written by its members, according as space permits. Occasionally, it will be possible to find a place in the JOURNAL for contributions from the great leaders in Oriental studies, who must always be our source of encouragement and inspiration. Several of these scholars have already become Associates in the Society.

The Society plans to publish two parts of its JOURNAL in this present year, the second part appearing in October; two parts in the year 1918; and in 1919 it hopes to make the JOURNAL a quarterly.

In future numbers of the JOURNAL, reviews and lists of the most recent and important works in the field of Ancient Oriental studies will be published.





# Journal of the Society of Oriental Research

## SUMERIAN *TU*, DOVE, AND *NAM*, SWALLOW

By PAUL HAUPT, Johns Hopkins University

AFTER the ship of the Babylonian Noah had rested on the peak of the mountain of Nizir for six days, he sent out, on the seventh day, a dove, then a swallow, and finally a raven (cf. DELITZSCH, *Paradies*, p. 157).<sup>1</sup> The name of the raven, Assy. *âribu*, is written phonetically, but for the dove, Assy. *summatu*, and the swallow, Assy. *sinûntu*, the Sumerian ideograms *tu-ĝu* and *nam-ĝu* are used. I interpreted *nam-ĝu* in KAT<sup>2</sup> 512 (1882)<sup>2</sup> as *Schicksalsvogel*, but *tu-ĝu*, dove, has never been explained. The primary meaning of *tu-ĝu* may have been *cave-bird*. The Sumerians must have lived originally in a mountainous region; Sumer. *kur* means both *mountain* and *land* (cf. *ha-hâr* = Canaan in Deut. 3, 25 and ZDMG 69, 169, l. 6). THUREAU-DANGIN's objections (referred to in GA<sup>3</sup>, p. 439, l. 1) are not valid; *kur* denoted the *original* home

<sup>1</sup> In the Flood legend of the Tarascan Indians, west of Mexico City, the Mexican Noah sends out a vulture and then a humming bird; see the *National Geographical Magazine*, Washington (July, 1916) p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Note the following abbreviations: — AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. — AkF = ZIMMERN, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (Leipzig, 1915). — ASKT = HAUPT, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*. — AV = Authorized Version. — BA = DELITZSCH and HAUPT, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. — BL = HAUPT, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907). — CD = Century Dictionary. — DB = HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*. — EB<sup>11</sup> = *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition. — GA<sup>3</sup> = ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. 1, part 2, third edition. — GB = GESENIUS-BUHL, *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*. — HK = HOLMA, *Namen der Körperteile* (Leipzig, 1911). — HW = DELITZSCH, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*. — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. — JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*. — KAT = SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. — KB = SCHRADER, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. — MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*. — NE = HAUPT, *Das babylonische Nimrod-Epos*. — OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. — SBOT = HAUPT, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew*. — SFG = HAUPT, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze*. — SGI = DELITZSCH, *Sumerisches Glossar*. — WF = *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914). — WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. — ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. — ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. — ZR = ZIMMERN, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*. — Est. = HAUPT, *The Book of Esther* (Chicago, 1908) = AJSL 24, 97-186. — Mic. = HAUPT, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) = AJSL 27, 1-63; 26, 201-252. — Nah. = HAUPT, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) = JBL 26, 1-53 (cf. ZDMG 64, 703, n. 2). — S = Syriac Bible. — Cf. JBL 34, 41; GB<sup>16</sup> xi.



of the Sumerians (cf. also ZDMG 63, 526, l. 17). SGL 127/8 regards *kur*, land, and *kur*, mountain, also *kur* in *anšu-kura*, ass of the mountainous region, i. e. horse (cf. MVAG 18, 2, p. 1; OLZ 18, 361) as three different words; see, however, my remarks at the end of the present paper.

The name *cave-bird* is not inapposite: in the Biblical Love-songs (Cant. 2, 14) the lover addresses the maiden: *My dove in the rock-clefts, in the cliff's recesses* (cf. JBL 21, 61; BL 105, n. 13). DB 1, 620<sup>a</sup> states that the ash-rumped rock-dove of Palestine makes its nest in the caves and fissures of the chalk precipices (cf. Il. 21, 493: πέλεια ἣ . . . κοίλην εἰσέπτατο πέτρην, χηραμόν; Æn. 5, 213: *spelunca subito commota columba*). Over the front doors of the houses in Palestinian villages there are often several rows of small recesses each of which accommodates one pair of doves. These pigeon-holes are about half a foot high and wide, and about one foot deep; see KARL JÄGER, *Das Bauernhaus in Palästina* (Göttingen, 1912) p. 28 and the photograph No. 2 on pl. ii at the end of his monograph.

The window of the stone house, through which the maiden in Cant. 2, 9 (cf. JBL 21, 71, n. 52) peered down, was not very different from a pigeon-hole, except that it was open on the inside and grated or latticed (Arab. *mušābbak*) on the outside (but not glazed). Both windows and pigeon-holes are called *ṭāqāt*. There is often but a single window in the front wall, close to the roof, and about fourteen inches high,<sup>1</sup> but there are crevices in the recesses<sup>2</sup> in the upper part of the inside of the wall; see JÄGER, *op. cit.* pp. 19. 32; LÖHR, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 40. These Palestinian windows are more like the ports for machine guns in

<sup>1</sup> The *National Geographical Magazine*, Washington (July, 1916) p. 59 states that perhaps two-thirds of Mexico's population live in houses without windows and chimneys.

<sup>2</sup> In Syriac these recesses are called *kāyūḫē*. They were used as closets corresponding to the ambries in Catholic churches where they serve as repositories for the consecrated oils (cf. Syr. *kāyūḫēṭā dē-qurbānā*). The word *kāyūḫēṭā* (plur. *kayūḫin*, Dan. 6, 11) means *opening, hole, pigeon-hole, window*. It is the Assy. *kaṁātu*, *kaṁātu*, which does not signify *outside* (AkF 32; GB<sup>16</sup> 910<sup>a</sup>) but *lattice*; the original meaning is *interlacement*, from *kaṁā*, to bind; see my remarks in JBL 34, 59.186; cf. *ibid.* p. 70, glosses σσ and ττ. From the allied stem *kamam* we have in Arabic the noun *kimām*, muzzle (see JBL 33, 290). Also Assy. *kaṁamu* is derived from this root; see JAOS 32, 123, where Heb. *miktām* is explained as *oratio numeris astricta* (German *gebundene Rede*).



the sides of one of our new armored railroad cars. I have explained the name (*ešnáḫ*) of the lattice-window, through which the mother of Sisera pried, and the corresponding modern Arab. *mašrabīyah* in WF 220, vi; cf. GB<sup>16</sup> xv, ad 72<sup>b</sup>, and contrast the explanation (*drinking-places*) of *meshrebiya* in EB<sup>11</sup> 18, 178<sup>b</sup>).

Just as Ethiop. *ba'át*, cave, and Arab. *bī'ah*, lodging, are connected with Heb. *bā*, he entered (*Kings*, SBOT, 210, 14) so Sumer. *tu-ḡu*, cave-bird, must be derived from the root *tur*, *tu*, to enter, Assy. *erēbu*. Similarly the *swift* is called *cypselus*, because it nests in crevices of rocks (cf. *κυψελίς*, cavity). In Assyrian we have *nēribu*, pass, defile, gorge, gully, glen, ravine, lit. (narrow) *entrance* or *passage*, from *erēbu*, to enter (HW 127; BA 1, 177; AkF 43). We need not suppose that *ma'bār*, pass, fem. *ma'barā* (1 S 13, 23; 14, 4; Is. 10, 29; cf. JBL 29, 102) is a transposition of *ma'rabā* = *maḡrabat*, although 'Arab, Arabians, seems to be a transposition of 'abar, wandering, roving, nomadic (ZAT 29, 284, n. 4). At the end of Jer. 48, 28 we must read *bē-fahtē ma'barīm* (≠ *ba-ḡēdānfē*, in the straits, Lat. *angustiae*) instead of the meaningless *bē-'ūbrē fī-fāht* (cf. Arab. *faht*, hole). The Heb. stem *paḥāt* is a transposed doublet (ZA 30, 98, l. 3; JBL 34, 43, below; 61, l. 9; 63, l. 2) of Assy. *paṭāxu* = Heb. *pittāḥ*, to engrave.

Assyr. *erēbu* (= *ḡarābu*, Arab. *ḡurūb*) means especially *going in* (i. e. *setting*) of the sun (Heb. *mēbō haš-šāmš*) and then *dusk*, *darkness*. The original meaning of Assy. *āribu*, raven, is *black bird*. The Sumerian name of the raven was *uga* (SGL 42). This may be identical with *uga*, lion, the primary meaning of both names being *crier* = *croaker* or *roarer* (cf. JAOS 32, 19, n. 1). Arab. *zā'ara*, to cry, is used both of lions and hawks; Arab. *hādara* is said of the camel, the ass, the sea, and the dove (cf. *hādala* and ZDMG 69, 171, l. 27). In Syriac, *nēhām* is used of the lion, fire, sea, thunder, and dove (cf. WZKM 23, 361).

Assyr. *summatu*, dove, comes from the stem *samāmu* which corresponds to Arab. *sāma*, *ḡasūmu*, to fly in a circular course, to circle, to wheel about (= *ḥāma* 'l-*tāīru* 'ālā šāḡ'in). Just as Assy. *summatu*, dove, must be combined with Arab. *sāma*, so Arab. *ḥamāmah*, dove, is connected with the synonym of *sāma*, to wheel about, *ḥāma*. DB 1, 620 says that the boys in Damascus, Ḥemç, Ḥamath, etc., train the doves to wheel about over the houses. Arab. *samām*



means *quick, swift*, and denotes also a kind of *swallow*. Orientals make no distinction between swallows, swifts, and martins. We use the term *swift* also for a certain breed of domestic pigeons. Assy. *sināntu*, swallow (Syr. *senūnūtā*) may be a form like Arab. *šaxūxah*, old age (ZDMG 64, 614, l. 14) from the stem of Syr. *sēḫānā*, mud, mire, so that the original meaning would be *mud-bird*. We call the cliff-swallow or eaves-swallow *mud-swallow*, because it builds its nest of small lumps of mud.

In addition to *hamāmah*, dove, we find in Arabic also *īamāmah* (cf. *Genesis*, SBOT, 119, 9). This may be connected with Heb. *īōnā* = *īōmā* from *īama* = *īamma*; cf. Aram. *īēmāmā*, day = *īōmā* (Assyr. *immu u māšu*, day and night, HW 307<sup>b</sup>). STADE's derivation of Heb. *īōnā* from *anā*, to lament (Is. 3, 26; 19, 8) is not satisfactory. For intervocalic *n* = *m*, cf. the plural ending *-in* for *-ima* (see *Nah.* 31, l. 1) and Heb. *-nā* = Assy. *-ma* (see *Numbers*, SBOT, 48, 44). The primary meaning of the root *īm* seems to be *to be hot*; in Gen. 36, 24 *īēmīm* (a form like *kelīm*, vessels; KÖNIG's combination with Arab. *uāmiha*, cited by FÜRST, is impossible) means *hot springs*; Aram. *īōm* and *īēmām* denote originally the *heat of the day* (Gen. 31, 40). Arab. *īamāmah*, dove, signifies *hot* = ardent, amorous (cf. *īahhēm*, Gen. 30, 41). The dove was sacred to Astarte, the goddess of sexual passion (DB 1, 170<sup>b</sup>) and the turtle-dove is the emblem of conjugal love. Semiramis (*i. e.* lover of perfumes) was afterwards connected with *summu*, the masculine form of *summatu*, dove (BA 2, 287, n.\*; EB<sup>11</sup> 24, 617). Diodorus of Sicily (2, 4, 6) says that Simmas gave her the name Semiramis, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον παρωνομασμένον ἀπὸ τῶν περιστερῶν. According to the legends she had been miraculously preserved by doves, and was finally turned into a dove. She was noted for her sexual excesses; Diodorus (2, 13, 4) says ἐπιλεγομένη δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς εὐπρεπεῖα διαφέροντας τούτοις ἐμίσγετο, καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῇ πλησιάσαντας ἡφάνιζε (cf. KB 6, 171). Also the *Semiramis of the North*, the Russian empress Catherine II, had a long series of lovers.

Heb. *īam*, sea, denotes *haz-zēdōnīm*, the boiling waves (cf. *Mic.* 76; JBL 34, 185; the prefixed *ham-māīm* in Ps. 124, 5 is an explanatory gloss). The line *īartīh kas-sīr mēḥūlā*, *īām īašīm kam-mārakahā* (Job 41, 23) is rendered in AV: *He maketh the deep boil*



like a pot; he maketh the sea like a pot of ointment. Also in Latin we find *fervor maris* (AJSL 23, 241).

I have subsequently noticed that GESENIUS' *Thesaurus* combined *îônâ*, dove, with *îôm*, day, which is a *calore diurno dictus*, while *îēmîmâ* (Job 42, 14) = Arab. *îamâmah*, dove, is a *calore venereo dicta*; but *îam*, sea, was connected by GESENIUS with *hamâm*, *hamâ*. He also combined the stem *îamâm* with *hamâm*, *hûm*, *îahâm*, and he would probably have regarded Arab. *hâma*, to wheel about, as a denominative verb. But the combination of *îamâm* and *hamâm* is impossible, although Assy. *immu* (HW 307<sup>b</sup>. 85<sup>b</sup>) means both *day* (= *îammu*, *îamîmu*) and *hot* (= *emmu*, *hammu*, *hamîmu*) and although *h* is sometimes secondary (BA 3, 580, l. 35; HK 26). The combination of *îamâm* and *hamâm* was advocated also by FÜRST, but he derived *îônâ*, dove, from the stem of Heb. *îauén*, mire. I shall show in special paper that this word does not mean *mire*, but *misery*.

Sgl 163 rightly connects Sumer. *tur*, yard, inclosure, with the root *tur*, *tu*, to enter. *Tur*, small, may be originally *eingelaufen* = shrunk, French *rétréci*. Printers say of copy which fills less space than was calculated: *It runs in*. Also *tur*, *du* and *tuš*, *tir*, to dwell (Sgl 150) may be ultimately identical with *tur*, *tu*, to enter (cf. Heb. *bâit*, house, from *bâ*, he entered; see AJSL 22, 259 and above, p. 5). The *r* in *dur*, *tur* = *tuš* may be due to rhotacism; cf. *ġu-mu-rap-sumu*, may he give thee, for *ġu-mu-zap-sumu*.<sup>1</sup>

Even *tura*, illness, means originally *entrance*, ingress, invasion. Diseases were regarded as due to the invasion of the body by evil spirits; cf. French *invasion d'une maladie* (in Spanish and in Italian this word is used in the same way). We believe now that the pathogenic agents are certain bacteria or protozoa which have gained entrance to the human body. A contagious disease is an invasion of vegetable or animal parasites. EB<sup>11</sup> 20, 917<sup>b</sup> calls these micro-organisms in true Babylonian style *messengers of destruction and death*,<sup>2</sup> adding that the battle too often ends in favor of the attack-

<sup>1</sup> Professor J. D. PRINCE applies the term *rhotacism* also to the conversion of *r* into *š*; he says (JAOS 34, 322, 3) that Sumer. *aš*, man, may be *rhotacism* for *ur*. This use of the term is as unwarranted as DELITZSCH'S *asynthetic* (cf. *Sum. Gr.* § 205; *Sum. Sprachlehre*, § 61) for *asyndetic*, or *aphæresis* (*Sum. Spr.* § 9) for *apocope* (GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, § 19, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> This would be in Assyrian: *mârê šîpri ša šaxluṭti u mâtî*, Sumerian: *lukiṅia nam-ġil-ug-ge-ene*.

ing enemy. Just as Babylonian priests tried to *drive out* the demons of disease, so our medical men speak now of *driving* the comma bacillus *out* of rooms by means of light and fresh air (EB<sup>11</sup> 20, 773; cf. 3, 174<sup>b</sup>).

In Luke 8, 33 we read that the devils went out of a man and entered into swine (ἐξελθόντα δὲ τὰ δαιμόνια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους). S has *ua-něšáq(ú) šēdē min-gábrā uě-‘ál(lú) ba-ħězîrē*. This would be in Hebrew: *uāi-īeṣē’ū haš-šēdîm min-ha-’iś uāi-īabō’ū ‘el-tōk ha-ħăzîrîm*, in Assyrian: *šēdē limnūti ina amīli ittaṣū-ma ina xumṣîrē êtêrubû*, and in Sumerian: *alat-gul-ene lu-ta bara-ed-eš šaḡšaḡa ba-tur-uš*. Cf. also *nissâtum êtêrub ina karšî’a* (NE 59, 4; 9, 49). In the cuneiform incantations the evil spell is conjured to go out; cf. *mâmîl littâṣî* (ZR 30, 92.102. 112.122) and *râbiṣu* (or *utukku*) *limnu liṣî* (ASKT 93, 9; 99, 42).

My explanation of *nam-ġu*, swallow, as *bird of fate* or *destiny*, which I gave thirty-five years ago, was correct. *Nam*, fate, destiny, must be derived from *na*, to herald, announce (SGI 197) just as Lat. *fatum* means originally *prophetic declaration*, oracle, from *fari* = *φάσαι*, to speak. From the same stem we have *φήμη*, oracle, prophecy. The swallow is a weather-prophet and especially the harbinger of summer (JBL 21, 71; BL 103). A swallow is said to have warned Alexander the Great of treachery. According to Xenophon swallows foretold the disastrous outcome of Cyrus’ expedition against the Scythians.

There may be a semantic connection between a great many words whose meanings are apparently quite different. SGI 87 treats *gibil*, to burn, and *gibil*, new, as two different words; but the original meaning of *gibil*, new, is *brand-new*, *fire-new* (MHG *viurniuwe*) i. e. bright like metal fresh from the forge (cf. German *funkelnagelneu*). In the same way *gir*, foot, and *gir*, furnace (cf. Heb. *kîrâim*, Lev. 11, 35) are identical. *Gir*, foot (SGI 92) means also *to foot* in the sense *to tread under foot*, *to subdue* or *reduce*, and the primary connotation of *gir*, furnace (especially *asphalt-furnace*, pitch-pot; cf. NE 137, 66; BL 130) is *reducer* = *reducing-furnace* (Heb. *kibšân*). Ores not easily reduced are called *refractory* (cf. Lat. *subigere metalla*). Crematories for the disposal of the garbage and refuse of a city are known as *reduction-works*.

We must not assume that all Sumerian syllables with different



meanings were differentiated by means of different tones (*cf.* SFG 19, n. 6). Under *set* CD (including the additions in the Supplement, but not the large number of special phrases printed in smaller type) enumerates 86 different meanings, *viz.* 36 for the transitive verb, 12 for the intransitive, 8 for the participial adjective, and 30 for the noun. Under *take* we find more than four large quarto pages of explanations. I have shown in AJSL 22, 251 that Heb. *môhēl*, circumciser, *eṭmôl*, yesterday, and *âḳl*, ram, are derived from the same root, and I have repeatedly protested against the practice of assuming different stems instead of trying to find out the semantic connection; *cf. e.g.* the conclusion of my paper on the Semitic roots *qr*, *kr*, *xr* in AJSL 23, 252, also ZDMG 69, 172, l. 6 and BL 127-132.

## "EMPEROR"-WORSHIP IN EGYPT

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It is generally agreed by students of Egyptian religion that the *dead* pharaoh received precisely the same divine adoration as the gods.<sup>1</sup> It is almost as generally believed that the *living* pharaoh never received divine adoration by his Egyptian subjects. In fact, Steindorff asserts that "on Egyptian soil the king had never been the object of a cult during his life-time. This step was first entered upon in foreign parts in Nubia."<sup>2</sup> In this statement Erman concurs,<sup>3</sup> and such a careful student as George Foot Moore says that "there is no indication that religious worship in any form was paid to the living ruler" in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Sethe says that the first to receive such worship during their life-time were the Hellenistic kings of the Ptolemaic period.<sup>5</sup> Such statements as these are followed by almost all writers on the subject of Egyptian religion.

That the ancient Egyptian kings during their life-time did receive divine worship from their own Egyptian subjects can be proved by a stela published by Alexandre Moret,<sup>6</sup> the contents of which were used by him to show, primarily, that the cult of the Egyptian king was individual as well as official. It is the purpose of this paper to contradict the general belief that no Egyptian king was worshipped during his life-time by his Egyptian subjects, to assemble briefly the most important evidence, and to discuss the peculiar nature of "Emperor"-worship in Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, p. 276; V. Ermoni, *La Religion de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Paris, 1909, pp. 204 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, Lecture IV.

<sup>2</sup> G. Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York and London, 1905, p. 161; J. Baillet, *Le Régime Pharaonique*, Paris, 1913, II, 36; E. A. W. Budge, *A Short History of the Egyptian People*, London, 1914, p. 241; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alerthums*, Stuttgart, 1909, § 225; etc.

<sup>3</sup> A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, London, 1907, pp. 36-38, 197.

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, New York, 1913, I, 150; cf. S. J. Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, Chicago, 1914, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> "Heroes and Hero-Gods" in Hasting's, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>6</sup> *Culte du Roi en Égypte* in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, I, pp. 216 ff.



The stela published, for the first time, by Moret is number 34037 of the Cairo Museum. It represents, by word and picture, two persons in the act of worshipping King Ahmose I, his queen, Nefretiri,<sup>1</sup> and their son Amenhotep I. The stela belongs to the reign of Amenhotep I. An epithet, *ānh-ty*, shows that the queen is still living; but Ahmose I is presumably dead, the reigning king being his son Amenhotep I. Here we have absolute proof of the divine worship of the living monarch. Nothing more, in the way of demonstration, would be necessary. Six years before the publication of the stela, however, the same scholar, Dr. Moret, in his *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, believed that he saw indications, in the ceremony at the *Sed*-festival and the festival in the “Chamber of Adoration,” of the worship of the living pharaoh by his Egyptian subjects. He asserted that as soon as the king was crowned he received worship analogous to that paid to the gods, that a temple for the worship of the pharaoh was erected, and that the king received adoration in the “Chamber of Adoration,” and hence he believed that the Egyptians worshipped the real living pharaoh. Yet, Moret did not succeed in gaining a following. This was chiefly due to the fact that, because at such festivals the king assumed the costume and insignia of Osiris and impersonated him, it was thought that he was worshipped not as king but as Osiris. And, further, in spite of the fact that not only Moret himself, but also Maspero,<sup>2</sup> considered the scenes representing the *Sed*-festival and the festival in the “Chamber of Adoration” as real, still, students of Egyptian religion refused to believe that the living pharaoh was ever himself worshipped by his own Egyptian subjects. With the evidence of stela 34037 of the Cairo Museum at hand, there seems to be no reason for doubting Moret’s earlier conclusions.

Budge’s statement that, in Uganda, every man adores the king as a deity, and that the Basango regard their chief as a god<sup>3</sup> is a good modern commentary on this ancient Egyptian custom — a custom which undoubtedly dated from the earliest to the latest times, for

<sup>1</sup> The wife of a king was also considered divine. See Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Chicago, 1906 ff., IV, 988 I.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1899, p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, London, 1911, II, 162.

both Miss Murray and Dr. Petrie<sup>1</sup> think that the pharaohs were depicted as Osiris in the *Sed*-festival as early as Namer of the pre-dynastic period and as late as the time of Taharka and perhaps of Ptolemy I.

With the evidence of the Cairo Museum stela and that of the *Sed*-festival and the festival of the "Chamber of Adoration" as positive proof, an abundance of corroborative evidence can be easily found.<sup>2</sup> For example, in the reign of Amenemhet III, of the twelfth dynasty, an official, by name, Sehetepibre, director of works at Abydos, in giving good advice to his children, says: "Worship the king, Nematre (Amenemhet III), who liveth for ever."<sup>3</sup> There is here no doubt that the official advises his children to worship the *living* pharaoh, for the reigning king is explicitly mentioned by name. Moreover, the word used for "worship" is *dwa*, the regular term employed in the adoration of the gods. The same word is used in reference to the living monarch in many similar expressions. Thus, as early as the time of Mernere, of the sixth dynasty, we read in the Inscription of Uni: "I worshipped the person of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives for ever, more than all the gods."<sup>4</sup> It is the living pharaoh, again, who receives divine adoration. After Amenhotep II had conquered the city of Niy, the inhabitants assembled "to worship" him.<sup>5</sup> When Rameses III presented his son to his people as his associate on the throne, he told them not only to "serve him every moment," but also to "worship him, magnifying his goodness every morning."<sup>6</sup> Many other such instances could easily be quoted.

Even when the living pharaoh was not present in person, his double, usually in the form of a statue, was adored.<sup>7</sup>

A further corroboration of the worship of the living king by his Egyptian subjects may be seen in the many hymns in which the pharaoh is addressed as a god,<sup>8</sup> or in the many salutations, such as that to Rameses II in the story of the daughter of the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Murray, *The Osireion (Egypt Research Account)*, London, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> See Baillet, *op. cit.*, I, 363 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 98-110, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, Pl. VI, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Maspero, *Bibl. Egypt.*, VIII, 201.

<sup>6</sup> *Pap. Harris*, p. 79, 7-11 (Chabas, XIX<sup>e</sup> Dy., Paris, 1873, 74).

<sup>7</sup> *Prisse, Mon.*, Pl. XXI, l. 12; Stela of Rameses II at Kubban.

<sup>8</sup> Griffith, *Two Hieratic Papyri*, London, 1889, Pl. I-III, 1-3; cf. Maspero, *Inscriptions dédic. d'Abydos*, Paris, 1867, pp. 34-40.



Bakhtan: "Glory to thee, Sun of foreign nations, thou by whom we live."<sup>1</sup> The prayers which native Egyptians addressed to their king, show the same consciousness of his divinity. In a hymn to Rā, a suppliant prays "that the Son of the Sun, the pharaoh, be venerated because of his merits; that he be adored when thou (Rā) risest triumphant in the eastern horizon of heaven."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the monuments are very explicit in showing how careful the Egyptians were in approaching the living king. On the stela of Kubban,<sup>3</sup> we read: "They are made to pass before his majesty, their arms being in the posture of adoration to his double . . . they worship the good god." And as an object of worship, the living monarch sometimes had his own temple,<sup>4</sup> though he was generally adored in company with other gods in their special temples.<sup>5</sup>

If it can thus so plainly be proved that the Egyptian king was worshipped by his Egyptian subjects during his lifetime, it could be safely assumed that he received divine adoration after his death. An assumption is not, however, necessary, for although we may not be able to claim stela 34037 of the Cairo Museum as an absolute proof, because of the uncertainty as to whether Ahmose I is dead (although that is most probable), yet the evidence is abundant. In fact, there has never been any substantial doubt about it ever since it was known that the Egyptian pharaohs were deified.<sup>6</sup>

As to the deification of the Egyptian monarchs: notwithstanding the dictum of Herodotus that the "Egyptians pay no religious honors to heroes,"<sup>7</sup> but which is contradicted by Diodorus Siculus,<sup>8</sup> who says that "the Egyptians seem to worship and honor their kings as very gods," we could be certain of their divinity, even if it were impossible to find a single shred of evidence other than that which so conclusively proves that the Egyptians paid divine worship to them both before and after their death. Of this we are sure; and that in itself would be sufficient evidence of their divinity, since worship has always been the act of paying divine honor,

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Monuments de l'Ég. et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1844-1872, II, 280-290.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 117.

<sup>3</sup> Prisse, *op. cit.*, XXI, 12; Maspero, *Inscrip. dedic.*, 34-35.

<sup>4</sup> Naville, *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, London, 1904-1908, Vols. II-III.

<sup>5</sup> Baillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 375 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Moret, *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus II, 50.

<sup>8</sup> I, 90.

reverence, and adoration to a deity or deified being. But in Egyptian literature of almost all kinds there is abundant evidence of the deification of the pharaoh. He was a god both before as well as after his death.

From the earliest to the latest times, the pharaoh, during his lifetime, was deified. According to the Egyptian way of thinking all men, at death, might become divine, providing they succeeded in passing the ordeal of the judgment of Osiris; but the king became divine at his birth, receiving full consciousness of it at the time of his crowning. Nor was the idea unreal to the Egyptian mind. The pharaoh was believed to be in body the very flesh of the gods. As early as the time of Sesostri III, of the twelfth dynasty, we find the expression *sa n h. t. f*, "son of his<sup>1</sup> body," and it occurs very often after that time. He is also called *sa n hpr. f*, "son of his procreation." The god says to the king: *sa n h. t. y tw mtw. y*, "That art the son of my body whom I have begotten." The king's body is called *ntr h. t.*, "the divine body," and he himself is called, *sa n h. t. f Rā*, "the bodily son of Rā."<sup>2</sup>

The pharaoh's most common divine title was *ntr nfr*, "good god," but he, as well as the gods, was also called *ntr āa* "great god," not only in the Old Kingdom, as Meyer says,<sup>3</sup> but also during the Middle Kingdom,<sup>4</sup> and during the New Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> From the nineteenth dynasty on, however, the term "great god" was applied only to the *deceased* king. Not only did the Egyptians possess an ancient legend about the divine birth of the first three kings of the fifth dynasty,<sup>6</sup> but, beginning with queen Hatshepsut, it became common to represent, in pictorial form, the divine parentage of the sovereign.<sup>7</sup> We have at least three such descriptions, namely, those of Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III, and Caesarion; and perhaps there were others, as fragments show similar scenes in the

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun refers to Rā, whose son the pharaoh was as early as Khafre of the fourth dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, 786 (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 24, l. 1.); cf. Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 86, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, §§ 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Reign of Amenhemet I (Stela in the Louvre, C 169, see Rougé, *Cat.*, p. 139).

<sup>5</sup> Rameses II, Stela of Abydos, 21-23.

<sup>6</sup> Erman, *Die Märchen des Pap. Westcar*, Berlin, 1890, I, 55.

<sup>7</sup> Moret, *Du Caractère*, *passim*.

case of Rameses II.<sup>1</sup> In these pictures, the carnal relationship between the god and the mother, the actual birth, the god's receiving of the new-born child, and the nursing by a goddess are very vividly shown.<sup>2</sup>

After his death, the pharaoh was a veritable Osiris. In the earliest texts, the identity of the dead with Osiris is always assumed, and this remained true to the very end of Egyptian civilization. He was likewise identified with Rā, and even considered superior to him.<sup>3</sup> That the pharaoh was divine after his death has never been questioned by any student of Egyptian religious ideas.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever may have been the idea of god in the minds of the most primitive Egyptians, we know that Egyptians of the earliest historical period believed in the existence of many gods. A long period previous to the dynasties had passed, during which the idea of god had gradually developed. Generally speaking, the Egyptians of the earliest historical period believed that the gods were invisible, yet capable of appearing to men at different times and in different ways. Otherwise they were very much like men. All human attributes were ascribed to them. They were conceived and born; they grew up and were nurtured; they performed their toilet and dressed; they married and were given in marriage; they suffered and died and had their tombs just as men did.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the gods were considered so much like men that they were capable of being cajoled and coerced, cheated and deceived just like men.<sup>6</sup> They were considered finite, imperfect, corporeal and endowed with virtues and vices even as men were.<sup>7</sup> In short, the Egyptians made their gods in their own image, but endowed them with superhuman power.

A great deal has been said about the meaning of the word *netjer*, and all kinds of modern ideas have been read into it. Pierret

<sup>1</sup> Moret, *op. cit.*, 60-61; C. Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III*, London, 1912, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Moret, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *Development*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> See Baillet, *op. cit.*, I, Chapter I.

<sup>5</sup> See Budge, *Legends of the Gods*, London, 1912; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1894.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, 2, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> E. Amélineau, *Prolégomènes à l'étude de la Religion Égyptienne*, Paris, 1908, I, 293.



renders it by the word "renewal," Renouf by "force," Brugsch by *φύσις*, and de Rougé by "become." Budge says it represents a being which has power to generate life and maintain it; Maspero says that the earliest significance of the word is unknown; and Lieblein says it is impossible now to know what it originally meant. At any rate, we must be careful not to read into it what the term "god" means and connotes to us moderns. It seems certain, however, that the word *netjer* was applied to any deity, spirit, or being supposed to possess superhuman or supernatural powers, however else that deity, spirit, or being may be described.

The Egyptian idea of man was that of a being possessed not only of a body, but also of a double, a soul, a shadow, a spirit, a heart, a name, and a spiritual body; and he was inferior to the gods only in power and visibility. He believed that he was able to control the gods by magical means, and to identify himself with certain gods in order to control others.

The ancient Egyptians believed that there was a time when the gods ruled as kings upon earth; that is, each district or nome believed that its particular god had been at one time its king. These god-kings were succeeded directly, in historic times, by a line of human rulers which were considered the bodily and spiritual offspring or incarnation of the gods. The last god-king, it was believed, left Egypt to the first human-king as an inheritance. The human-king, moreover, was inalienably connected in the mind of the Egyptian with the god-king. He was his heir, and was, in very fact, divine. Hence, the human-king assumed titles which indicated his close relationship with the late god-king. He was called "the Horus," for he was believed to be that god (who was considered the last god-king of Egypt) in visible form; he was completely identified with Osiris (whom the Egyptians believed was of divine origin, but had lived in human form upon earth) in the earliest times; and later with Rā (who was considered by some Egyptians to have been the first god-king of Egypt); and still later with Amon. He was also called the "Horus of Gold," or the pure bodily son of Rā; and, beginning with the fifth dynasty, he was called "Son of Rā"; in the twelfth dynasty he was known as the son of the god's body. The king was, thus, considered the last of the gods, but the first of men — more god than man. In other

words, the chasm between the gods and the king, to the Egyptian mind, was very narrow indeed.

The Egyptian approached his king as he would a god, and yet the king was amenable to law in his life-time; and when he died, in order to reach heaven, he was obliged to go through the same process as a common mortal. That, however, was only a detail showing the usual Egyptian anthropomorphic idea of deity, for the Egyptians really believed that the pharaoh was an incarnate god.<sup>1</sup> He was a god from his birth, and had never been made so by any human ceremony.

It has been held that the idea of the divinity of kings is a survival of ancestor worship, and that the gods are merely the dead. The difference between the gods and human beings, in the minds of the ancient Egyptians, was so little that it was most likely that they never differentiated between the gods and their earliest ancestors; in fact, the belief that the gods ruled as kings in pre-historic times and that the earliest human-kings were the real offspring of the gods would make such a belief very probable. Again, the Egyptians believed that any man, after death, may be identified with the gods, and that, therefore, their ancient ancestors, after death, were identical with the gods, and, as such, were worshipped. A corroboration of the fact that the Egyptians did not differentiate between the gods and their own ancestors is seen in the use of the divine determinative with the word for ancestors;<sup>2</sup> and in the fact that the daily services of the gods of the eighteenth dynasty were the same as those performed daily for the dead kings of the fourth to the sixth dynasties.<sup>3</sup> It would seem to be a matter of course that since the pharaoh was a son of god, the cult he celebrated<sup>4</sup> would be ancestor worship. In this way, all Egyptian worship may be called an ancestor cult, for the pharaoh, the son of the gods, was high priest, and in theory he alone was the offerer of sacrifice, although in practice he was represented by the priest. Thus, the expression "may the king give an offering" is always used no matter whether the king is the offerer or not; and it indicates that

<sup>1</sup> The pharaoh was called *Ra pw m hā* "the god Rā incarnate," Stela of Kubban, 1. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> See Moret, *Du Caractère*, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Osiris*, p. 254.

all offerings were the king's, and he alone could offer;<sup>1</sup> and the offerings were made to the gods, his ancestors.

Because it is said that "Emperor"-worship in Greece and Rome was political, and that such men as Alexander and Augustus did not take their deification seriously, it has been suggested that the pharaoh was god only officially. That may be said of Greece and Rome, but it cannot be truly asserted of Egypt. If there is anything in Egyptian religion which seems to be well established it is "Emperor"-worship. The Egyptian idea of a god was peculiar, as was his idea of the close relationship between gods and men; but he never doubted that the pharaoh, living or dead, was a god; and as such he worshipped him. Nay, even any man may become divine after death, for the only distinction between god and man was that in this life the god was ordinarily invisible and more powerful, but in the world to come man could be a god. The distinction between the king and an ordinary man was that the king was always a god even from his birth, but that mortals had to await death to be deified.

The Greeks and Romans may not have taken "Emperor"-worship very seriously. Their long past history and their cosmopolitan civilization would prevent them from so doing. The Babylonians cannot even as yet be shown to have believed in "Emperor"-worship,<sup>2</sup> for they likewise were too cosmopolitan. But the Egyptians, conservative, politically because of the geographical nature of their home, and religiously, because of priestly control, were never successful in getting beyond that early stage, common to almost all primitive peoples, where the belief in the essential similarity between gods and men is a dominating principle. The very early Babylonians believed in the same close relationship between gods and men, but before the belief had time or opportunity to crystallize into a dogma, they advanced in thought. The Egyptians, on the contrary, were caught in the quicksands of their primitive belief, from which they never extricated themselves. And so, this early belief hardened into a dogma, which was preserved by a priestly-royal family down to the very end of Egyptian civilization.

<sup>1</sup> Thus it is also that the king is often represented as priest making offerings to himself as god. See Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, London, 1909, 279-281.

<sup>2</sup> See a forthcoming article by the writer on "'Emperor'-worship in Babylonia," *JAOS*, April, 1917.



## SYLLABAR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

By STEPHEN LANGDON, Oxford University

THIS fine grammatical tablet belongs to the small collection in the Metropolitan Museum of New York City. In script and general composition it resembles two other tablets, viz. Berlin V.A. Th. 244, published in ZA. IX 159-164 and British Museum 46537, published in R.A. 13, 94-5. The two latter tablets contain two double columns on each side and are much longer than the Metropolitan Syllabar. All three, however, end with a catch line and all are said to be copied for private collections from originals at Babylon and Borsippa<sup>1</sup> in the late period. Unlike similar tablets published in CT. XII, the colophons apparently contain no reference to the series to which these texts belonged. The colophon on BM. 46537 is probably to be restored as follows:

[*ki pî duppi ša a-na pî gab-ri Bâb-ili-(ki) šaṭ-ru\**  
*[ilu Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi mar] Mi-šir-a-a iṣṭur<sup>2</sup>-ma Daḡan-ilu Marduk*  
*[mar . . . ib-ri.] duppi ilu Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi*  
*[mar Mi-šir-a-a. . . ] MA. NU. Si ilu Nabû abikta<sup>3</sup>-šu liḫ-bi*

“According to a tablet, which was written after a copy in Babylon, Nabubalaṭsu-iḫbi son of Miširâ wrote and Daḡan-Marduk son of . . . collated. Tablet of Nabubalaṭsu-iḫbi son of Miširâ. Whosoever . . . may Nebo command his destruction.”

According to the colophon of V.A. Th. 244 this same Nabubalaṭsu-iḫbi son of Miširâ copied that tablet for his own collection.

Our tablet has a different colophon:

[ . . . ] *duppi gab-ri Bâb-ilâni-(ki) kima labiri šaṭir-ma*  
*[barî - ] ilu Bêl-û-pa-ka mar Bi-ib-bu-û-a.*

<sup>1</sup> V.A.Th. 244 is said to have been copied from an original at Šubat-ilu Nabû, i. e., Borsippa (?).

<sup>2</sup> The rendering *DU* = *šaṭāru* is certain.

<sup>3</sup> *ḪA-A*, probably so to be rendered. Also ZA. 9, 164, 34 is certainly *ḪA-A liḫ-bi*.

## Obverse

	[ . . . ]-ra-aga-	ab	še-id-dah		
	[ ] kešda-aga-	ab	ki (?) -iš-pa ?-ar		
	še (?) -id-aga-	ab	ša <sup>1</sup> bi- il		
	ka-mu šu- an-	bar <sup>2</sup>	pi-ša uš-šu-ar		To open the mouth.
5	ne- en-	na <sup>3</sup>	an-na- an-na		A certain one.
	li- el-	la	ul-lā-ul- du (?)		
	a-šag-bi nenni un-	nam	šāli šu ki-a-am		His field such and such.
			ki-a-am		
	še-bi ne-en-ne en-	nam	še-i-šu . . .		His grain such and such.
	ne- e-	gim	ki-ma ki-a-am		After this manner.
10	ne-en- na-	gim	ki-ma ki-a-am		
	i-gi- in-	zu	tu- šā- ma		Surely, indeed.
	nam-	ga			
	nam-	ga	mi- in- di <sup>4</sup>		Certainly.
	nam-	ga	ap- pu- na		Straightway, at once.
15	nam-	ga	pi- ga- at <sup>5</sup>		Truly.
	ir-	la <sup>6</sup>	pi- il- ri- [iš ?]		Abominably.
	nu- un-	KUR	il- la- a- a		
	nu- un-	še	li- e- mu <sup>7</sup>		Without rival. Unequaled.
	nu- ub-	dam	la- ma <sup>8</sup>		Verily; forthwith; not so?
20	nu- ub-	sig <sup>9</sup>	la ma-a- šil		Not so? truly.

<sup>1</sup> Sic! not *li*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. POEBEL, PBS. V 140, 12; *ka-mu šu-a-an-bar* = *pi-ša uš-šu-ar*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. (*ni-en-ni*) BUL-BUL = *ananna*, ZA. 9, 103 IV 8 and ZIMMERN in ZA. 13, 374.<sup>4</sup> The writing *MAN-di* occurs, whence the reading *man-di* has been assumed as a variant. But *MAN* has also the value *min*: see VR 37 d 34; KING, *Boundary Stones* 22, 11; HINKE, *AJSL*. 20, 210; Tablet of Erech l. 7 in RA. vol. 12; and *elomen*, CT. 19, 31 d 10. Hence *mandi* is probably a false reading.<sup>5</sup> So also ZA. 9, 150, 11 *pi-kaš* not *pi-ku*. Correct MEISSNER, SAL. 3044.<sup>6</sup> *ir-la* = *zu'lu*, "sweat," 𐎶𐎵𐎶. II R. 61, 50 and *ir* = *izulu* BM. 93070, ? = *zu'-dam*, CT. XI 24, 25. The word *piru* occurs in Gil. Epic XI 325 f. in the sense of "offal" and hence = *piru* "offal." [For *piru* "offal" = Aramaic *pidra*, see the new edition of II R. 38 No. 1 and K. 6007 in *Revue d'Assyriologie* in press.] By some obscure confusion *ir* appears to have been employed for both sweat *zu'lu* and "offal," *pi*. Gilgish XI 325 f. have been misunderstood by all the interpreters and should be rendered:"One *sar* of the city, one *sar* of the gardens, one *sar* of the valley and offal of the temple of Ishtar.Three *sar* and offal of Erech I shall heap up."In line 325 read *is-su u*, "the valley and . . ."<sup>7</sup> Cf. *nu-še-ga* = *la mahar*, SBH. 23, 30. *li-e-mu* = *la e-mu*.<sup>8</sup> Abr. of *laman*. Cf. *nu-ub-da* = *cdini, laman*, BM. 40537 I 10 f. in RA. 13.<sup>9</sup> Reading determined by IV R. 9 b 13, *sig-sig-ga* = *mašin*. Also CT. 10, 13, 10 has *la ma-šil* as synonym of *laman*.

	al-	gim	an- nu- ū	Thus; so.
	ġe- a-	an	..	..
	na-nam-na-nam		..	..
	in-	nu <sup>1</sup>	ū- la	Or, unless.
25	gul-	la	..	Unless. <sup>2</sup>

## Reverse

	na-	nam	la- a	Not
		nam	..	..
	ġe- en-	na	lu- ma an	Verily.
	ġe- a-	an	lu- ū	
5	ġe- a-	an	ma- ga- ru	
	lū-	ga	ma-ga-ru HI-ū-a	
	lū- ga-	a	..	
	me- ir-	ga	iš- te- en	One
	gi- a-	kam	iš-ti-iš-šu	First.
10	tāg-	bi <sup>3</sup>	ša- nu- ū-am	Second.
	an- ga- a-	an <sup>4</sup>	..	..
		tāg- ġi	..	..
		peš <sup>5</sup>	..	..
	īā- tab-	tab	šu-la-aš-nu-ū	To repeat.
15		ma	šu-ul-lu-šu	To repeat thrice.
		peš	ša-la-aš-ti	Three.
	peš-	bal	ir- bi- it	Four.
	peš- bal-	gi	ha-an-še-it	Five.
	peš- bal- gi-	gi	ši-iš-še- it	Six.
20	peš- peš-	gi	si- bi- it	Seven.
	peš	bi	ša- al- šu	Eight.
	peš- gi-	bi	ri- bu- ū	Fourth.
		sag	mi- i- rum	Youth.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *in-nu*, *in-nu-u* = *ul*, PBS. V 152 XII 25-7.

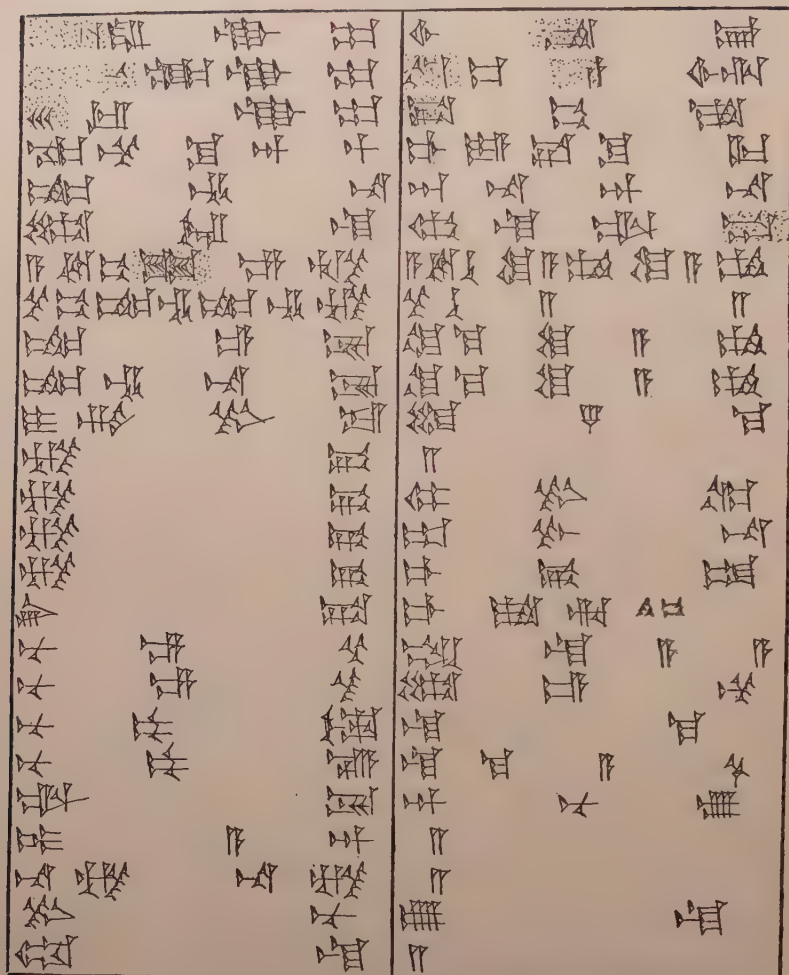
<sup>2</sup> For *ula* in this sense, see RA. 8, 144, *ū-lā ulāra*.



















































<sup>3</sup> Literally "Its remnant," *rihta-šu*.

<sup>4</sup> For *man-kam*; see *Sum. Gr.*, § 176.

<sup>5</sup> *I. e.*, *peš*, "be abundant," employed also for *šalaltu* "three."





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## THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LORD IN THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

Translated by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago

IN the writer's *Ethiopic Liturgy, its Sources, Development and Present Form*, Milwaukee and London, 1915, there was published a translation of the Ethiopic Liturgy as it is used in Abyssinia to-day. The manuscript translated was one which was presented to the author, in 1914, by the present *Abūna* of the Ethiopic Church. It was the first time that the Ethiopic Liturgy in its present form was published. The Ethiopic Liturgy, commonly used, consists of the *Ordo Communis* and the *Anaphora of the Apostles*. The invariable part of the Liturgy is the *Ordo Communis*, but though the *Anaphora of the Apostles* is usually used, there are thirteen other *Anaphoras* which are used only on special occasions. It is the purpose of the translator to render these thirteen special *Anaphoras* into English, and the *Journal of Theological Studies* has kindly undertaken to publish some of them. The others will be published in this Journal.

### THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LORD AND OUR GOD AND OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST<sup>1</sup>

#### <THE INTRODUCTION>

The blessing of his grace be with us for ever and ever. Amen.

*The deacon shall say*

Let your hearts be in heaven.

*The people shall say*

Yea, our hearts are in heaven. Strengthen us for thy name's sake, and make us worthy of Jesus Christ our Lord and our God;

<sup>1</sup> Mercer, *Ms. Eth.* 3, 107a-114a. This is the first time that the *Anaphora of Our Lord* in its modern form has ever been translated. Following the translation is found a facsimile of the original, published for the first time. For literature dealing with earlier forms of this *Anaphora*, see Mercer, *Ethiopic Liturgy*, 146-147; Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, lxxiii.



and if any be at variance with his neighbour let him forgive him in his own home.

*The people shall say*

According to thy mercy, our God, and not according to our sin —  
*the people shall say thrice.*

### <THE INTERCESSION>

*The deacon shall say*

If any be guilty of hypocrisy in his heart, let him confess it.

If any have a pollution of mind, let him withdraw.

If any have fallen into sin, let him not forget it.

If there be any with infirmity of mind, let him depart.

If there be any unclean, one who is not pure, let him withdraw.

If there be any at variance with the precepts of Jesus, let him withdraw.

If there be any who hath despised the prophets, let him withdraw himself, and save his soul from the wrath of the Only-begotten. Let him not despise the cross, but let him flee from the wrath of the Lord. For he who seeth us is the Father of lights, with his Son and his holy angels, who visit the Church. Attend to your souls, and purify your souls, and remember not your neighbor's offences against you. See that there is no one who is angry with his neighbor. The Lord beholdeth. Lift up your hearts. Let us draw nigh to our salvation, to our life, and to our holiness in the wisdom of the Lord. Let us receive the grace which is bestowed upon us.

### <THE THANKSGIVING>

*The priest shall say*

The Lord be with you all.

*The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

*The priest shall say*

Let us give thanks unto our God.

*The people shall say*

It is right, it is meet.

*The priest shall say*

Lift up your hearts.

*The people shall say*

We have them unto the Lord our God.

*The people shall say*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord, God of gods, eternal in heaven and on earth. We give thee thanks, O holy God, goal of our soul, and giver of life, incorruptible treasury, Father of thine Only-begotten Son, our Saviour, who hath proclaimed thy will; for thou hast willed that we should be by thee. Our hearts thank thee, O Lord. Thou art the might of the Father, and the grace of the Gentiles, the knowledge of the right, the wisdom of the erring, the healer of souls. Thou art our asylum, the staff of the just, the hope of the exiles, the harbour of the tempest-tossed, the light of the perfected, Son of the living God. Let the light of thy unshaken grace shine upon us for steadfastness and strengthening of faith; and for wisdom, and the power of inflexible faith, and unwavering hope. Bestow spiritual knowledge upon our humility, that we may be thy pure servants evermore in uprightness, O Lord; and let all the people praise thee.

*The people shall say*

Thee, O Lord, we praise and glorify.

*The deacon shall say on behalf of the elect a part of the prayer of Benediction.*

*The priest shall say*

Yea, Lord, we thank thee, we bless thee, and evermore make petition to thee, O Lord, our Father on high, who reignest over the treasures of light. Look down upon Jerusalem out of heaven. Lord of powers and archangels, and might of dominions, the glory of the angels, the strength and liberty and blessing of eminent thrones and bright luminaries; king of kings, the father who holdeth all in his hand and ruleth the universe. By thy counsel thine Only-begotten Son was crucified for us.

*The deacon shall say*

Ye who sit, stand up.

*The priest shall say*

Thou, who by the word of thy covenant, by which thou hast created all things, hast created him.

*The deacon shall say*

Look toward the east.

*The priest shall say*

And thou didst send him into the Virgin's womb. He was conceived in her belly, became flesh, and his birth was known to be through the Holy Spirit.

*The deacon shall say*

We look.

*The priest shall say*

Of the Virgin was he born that he might fulfill thy will, and prepare for thee a people.

*The deacon shall say*

Respond.

*The priest shall say*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the world is full of thy glory.

*The priest shall say*

He stretched forth his hands to the passion. He suffered that he might save the suffering who put their trust in him.

*The people shall say*

Remember us, O Lord.

*The priest shall say*

By his own will was he delivered up to suffering, that he might save those who suffer, give confidence to them, and strengthen those who totter, find out the lost, and quicken the dead, and take away death, and break the bonds of Satan, and fulfill his Father's will, and tread hell under foot, and set open the gates of life, give light to the just, dispel darkness, make a covenant, rear up the infants, and proclaim his resurrection.



## &lt;THE INSTITUTION&gt;

*The deacon shall say*

Lift up.

*The priest shall say*

In the same night in which they betrayed him, we believe.

*The priest shall say*

He took bread into his holy, blessed, and pure hands which are without stain; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat, this bread is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins.

*The people shall say*

Amen.

And as often as ye do this, make ye memorial of me. Amen.  
Amen. Amen.

*The priest shall say*

And likewise after thou didst mingle the cup of wine, thou didst give thanks.

*The priest shall say*

Thou didst bless and sanctify.

*The people shall say*

Amen. Amen. Amen.

*The priest shall say*

And didst give to them the very blood, which in truth was shed for our sins. Amen. Amen. Amen.

## &lt;THE INVOCATION&gt;

*The priest shall say*

Now also, Lord, remembering thy death and thy resurrection, we confess thee.

*The people shall say*

We commemorate thy death, O Lord.

*The priest shall say*

And we offer unto thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks unto thee, to thee alone from all eternity, Saviour God. For thou hast commanded that we stand before thee and do thee priestly service. We, thy servants, pray thee, O Lord.

*The priest shall say*

That thou, O Lord, mayest send; we indeed beseech thee, O Lord, that thou mayest send thy Holy Ghost and virtue upon this bread and upon this cup, to make it — *blessing it three times* — the body and the blood of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

*The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord be propitious unto us.

## &lt;THE INCLINATION&gt;

*The priest shall say*

Moreover we offer unto thee this eucharist, O eternal Trinity, O Lord, Father of Jesus Christ, whom every creature and soul venerate. We render unto thee this gift, and yet we offer not meat and drink to thy holiness. Grant that it be not unto us for judgment, and for the accusing of the enemy and for perdition, but for the healing of our bodies, and the strength of our spirit. Yea, O Lord our God, grant to us for thy name sake to flee from all thoughts which may displease thee. O Lord, grant that all deadly plottings may be driven away from us, who in thy name are written down in the inner vail of thy sanctuary on high. Let death hear thy name and be struck with consternation, and let the abyss be rent asunder, and let the enemy be trodden down, and let the wicked spirit tremble, and let the serpent withdraw himself. Let infidelity be banished, and the apostate be put to grief; let anger subside, and envy last not forever; let the obstinate be convicted, and lovers of gold be rooted out. Let trouble depart, let the deceitful man be confounded, and let all kinds of poison loose their force. Grant, O Lord, to the inner eyes of our heart that they may behold thee, celebrate and praise thee; that they may commemorate thee, and

serve thee; since thou alone art their portion, the Son and Word of God, whom all things serve. Those to whom thou hast revealed thyself in grace, make perfect and strengthen; and those who are in grace, heal; preserve those who by might of tongue magnify the faith; direct those who are taught the words of the tongue; save eternally those who do thy will; visit the widows; provide for the orphans; receive those who are fallen asleep in the faith. Give us strength, O Lord, to have a share with all thy saints; give us strength to please thee as they pleased thee.

### <THE COMMUNION>

*The deacon shall say*

With all heart.<sup>1</sup>

*The priest shall say*

Feed thy people in uprightness and in holiness. Give unity unto us all, O Lord, who have received these thy sacred gifts. Let us be satisfied with the Holy Spirit and the strength of true faith, that we may evermore give thanks unto thee and to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, who with the Holy Spirit art for ever and ever.

*The priest shall say*

Grant us to be united.

*The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

*The people shall say*

Lord have mercy on us.

*The priest shall say*

Peace be to you all.

*The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

*The priest shall say the prayer of the Fraction*

That he may permit us to receive with blessing the sacred mystery for our strength; that he may vouchsafe not to be far from us, and

<sup>1</sup> This should probably be continued as in the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, "We beseech the Lord our God, that he vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Ghost." Mercer, *Ethiopic Liturgy*, p. 355, 24-26.



that he forget not all those who receive of the holy mystery of the body and blood of Christ, the Lord, our God who ruleth all things.

<THE LORD'S PRAYER>

*The deacon shall say*

Pray ye.

*The people shall say*

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, give us this day our daily bread, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not, O Lord, into temptation, but deliver us and free us from all evil, for thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever and ever.

*The priest shall say*

O Lord God Almighty, we pray and beseech thee, that the reception of thy holy mystery may strengthen us, and not bring any of us into condemnation, but bless all through Jesus Christ through whom to thee with him, and with the Holy Spirit, be laud and power for ever, world without end. Amen.

*The priest shall say*

The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before the Saviour of the world and encompass the Saviour of the world, even the body and blood of the Saviour of the world. And let us come before the face of the Saviour of the world, in the faith of him we follow, even Christ.

<THE INCLINATION>

*The deacon shall say*

Arise.

*The priest shall say*

O Lord our God who sittest above the cherubim and seraphim and who regardest the supplication of thy people and thy heritage, bless thy servants and thy handmaids and their children and their followers, even those who receive of thy sacred admonition in purity of thought for the remission of sins; and may the Holy Ghost

together with the Saviour of soul and body be favourable to those who belong to thy kingdom and thy heritage, even by thy good pleasure, with thine Only-begotten Son, through whom to thee, with him and with the Holy Spirit, be glory and power, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

O ruler of souls, pilot of the just, and glory of the saints, bestow upon us, O Lord, the eyes of knowledge, that we may evermore behold thee, and ears also that we may hearken only to thee, after that our soul is now satisfied with thy grace. Create in us a clean heart, that we may ever understand thy greatness, who art good, and the lover of man. O God, be gracious to our souls, bestow upon us a steadfast mind, who have received thine own body and blood — even on us thy humble servants; for thine is the kingdom, O Lord, the praise and the glory, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

#### <THE BENEDICTION>

*The priest shall say motioning with his hand*

O Lord God Almighty, we pray thee, O Father, Lord, our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless thy servants, and hear us, and judge and visit thy kingdom with strength; preserve and establish a reverence for thy holy name, with all the greatness of thy power, with all thy truth, and with all thy strength, and with all thy will, and grant peace from crime, and anger and impurity; through thine only Son, to whom with thee and with the Holy Ghost, be glory and power, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

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 የህሉ፡በሰጠ፡ደሐኑ፡ፍብኑ፡በደሐኑ  
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செ. ப. சீ. 66:

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 በ፡ ከ፡፡ ይደረግ፡ ኦሎ፡  
 ይከቅሉ፡ ትነግ፡፡  
 ፍጥ፡ ምህላ፡ ወፊት፡  
 ኦሎ፡ ኦሎ፡ ምህላ፡  
 መ፡ ከመ፡ መ፡ ማነ፡ ይደረግ፡  
 ግ፡ ኦሎ፡ ትነግ፡ በሰላም  
 ሆነ፡፡ ይደረግ፡ ትነግ፡ ኦሎ፡

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## HEBREW *AZ* = ETHIOPIC *ENZA*

By PAUL HAUPT, Johns Hopkins University

For the Hebrew prepositions *bē* and *lē* we find in Assyrian: *ina* and *ana*. Traces of *ba* and *la* are preserved in Assy. *balû*, without = Heb. *bēlô* (AJSL 22, 259)<sup>1</sup> and in Assy. *bašû*, to be, originally *in him* (cf. Ethiop. *bôtû*). The preposition *la* appears in Assy. *lapâni* = Heb. *lifnê*, before. The Assyrian preposition *ana* appears in the Talmudic *ammâi*, wherefore = Assy. *ammêni* (HW 407<sup>a</sup>) = *anmeni*, *ana-meni* (see *Mic.* 104). The original form of *ammâi* must have been *ammâin* = *ammên*. The *ai* instead of *ê* may be secondary as it is also in *bâit*, house, for *bêt*, and in *Īrûšalâim* for *Irušalēm*; in the same way *râiṣâ*, head, in the dialect of *Ma'lûla* is later than *rēṣâ*. The final *n* in *ammên* was dropped, as it was dropped in the plural ending *-în* (see MARGOLIS' grammar, p. 28, δ) or as Aramaic drops the final *t* in the abstract ending *-ût*. The participle Af'el of *qûm* appears in the Talmud as *môqê* instead of *môqêm* (MARGOLIS, § 4, o; cf. *ibid.* p. 159\*). I have shown in AJSL 22, 251 that Aram. *eštēqād*, last year (Assyr. *šattaqda*; cf. OLZ 12, 165) stands for *eštē-qaddîm*, a compound of *šattâ*, year, and *qaddîm*, prior. We have *qaddîm* (and *qēdēm* = *qidâm*) in Syr. *Tiṣrî qaddîm* (or *qēdēm*) = the first Tishri. Final *n* has been dropped in Assy. *ammaku* or *ammaki*, instead (NE 142, 187). The original form must have been *ammakâ* = *ana-makâni*, for the place; cf. Heb. *bi-mēqôm ašār ie'amér-lahēm*, instead of their being called, Hos. 2, 1 (AJSL 32, 75). We find in Assyrian also *qûm*, *qêm*, instead, written *kum*, *kim* (HW 312<sup>b</sup>). For the doubling of the *d* in Syr. *qaddîm* instead of Heb. *qadîm* cf. Syr. *qaddîš*, holy; *ḥakkîm*, wise, for Heb. *qadōš*, *ḥakām*.

The Assyrian preposition *ina* is found in Ethiop. *en-bála*, without = Heb. *bi-blî*; Ethiop. *en-zá*, while, lit. *in that*, German *indem*;

<sup>1</sup> For the abbreviations see above, p. 3, n. 2. — GK = GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1909). — UG = UNGNAD-GRESSMANN, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911). — VG = BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908). — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).



Heb. *etmôl*, yesterday = Assy. *ina-timâli*; Syr. *immat(i)* = Assy. *immatîma* = *ina-matî-ma* (AJSL 22, 251). Also Ethiop. *enka* (DILLM.<sup>2</sup> §§ 64. 169) is a compound of the preposition *ina* and *ka* = Heb. *kô*, thus (for *kâ*): it corresponds to the Heb. *be-kên*, thus (AJSL 24, 138) or *lakên* (JBL 29, 104) and *'al-kên*. A feminine form of *ina* (cf. Heb. *bêlî* and *billî*; AJSL 22, 259) is the Ethiop. *énta*, in the direction of (cf. Lat. *in Italiam proficisci*; French *aller en Italie*) or *in the manner of* (cf. French *parler en ami* and Heb. *bê*, GK § 119, i) while Heb. *et* = Assy. *itti*, with, is a feminine form of *idu* = *iadu*, hand (GB<sup>16</sup> 77<sup>a</sup>). In Assyrian we may have the feminine form of the preposition *ina* in the noun *ittu*, direction (= *intu*) which cannot be identified with *ittu*, sign, i. e. *îtu* = *âîtu* = *âiatu* = *ayâiatu*, Heb. *ôl* (contrast HW 156<sup>a</sup>; KB 6, 471; UG 46, 67). Assy. *atû*, to find, is identical with Heb. *aṭâ*, to come; cf. Heb. *maṣâ*, to find = Ethiop. *māṣ'a*, Syr. *mēṭâ*. For Assy. *ittu*, border; *ittātu*, copulation; and *ittātu*, cobweb, see AJSL 26, 12, below.

Also the *t* in Ethiop. *énta*, the feminine form of the relative pronoun *za*, is the feminine *t* (JAOS 28, 115) while the prefixed *en* in this case is not the preposition *ina*, but a demonstrative pronoun, so that Ethiop. *énta* corresponds to Assy. *annîtu*, the feminine of *annû*, this.

According to JENSEN (ZA 11, 352; cf. VG 496) Ethiop. *esmä*, because, is a contraction of the preposition *en* = Assy. *ina* and *sem*, name, Assy. *šumu* (cf. German *nämlich* = γάρ, Lat. *enim*) so that *esmä* would correspond to Assy. *ina šumi*; but the initial *e* in *esma* is merely prosthetic (cf. DILLM.<sup>2</sup>, p. 63, n. 2; BA 1, 378.442, n.\*) as in Arab. *ism*, name; *ist*, bottom = Heb. *šem*, set; Heb. *eṣbâ'*, finger; *ezrô'*, arm; Syr. *ištâ*, six, and *ištî*, he drank (NÖLDEKE, Syr. Gr. § 51).

On the other hand, the initial vowel of Heb. *az*, then, is the remnant of the preposition *ina*, while the final *z* is shortened from *zê*, this, so that *az* is equivalent to *ba-zê*, then, Est. 2, 13 (AJSL 24, 118). BROWN's lexicon follows GESENIUS' *Thesaurus* in assuming that *az* is a substantive meaning *time*; but this view is untenable: for *me-'áz hab-bôqr* (Ruth 2, 7) we must read *me-'ôr hab-bôqr* (ZDMG 64, 708 n. 3) and *me-'áz appêka* (Ps. 76, 8) is miswriting



for *me-‘ôz appêka* (ZDMG 61, 287; cf. Ps. 90, 11; JBL 31, 122). KÖNIG (*Lehrgebäude*, 2, 249) correctly explained the *z* of *az* as a demonstrative stem, just as FÜRST regarded *az* as a demonstrative adverb.

I showed in AJSL 22, 255, n. 21 that Ethiop *enzâ*, for which we find also *ba-zâ*, corresponded to Heb. *bazê*, although Ethiopic used *em-zê* for *then*, and *en-zâ* for *while*. In Gen. 38, 21; Ex. 24, 14; 1 S 21, 10 Heb. *bazê* means *here*. Similarly Arab. *lâmma* = Heb. *šam* means *there*, while *tumma* is used for *then*. *Az* and *bazê* in the sense of *then* instead of *now* are on a par with the use of *this* for *that*. In Tigre *azê* signifies *now* (VG 324).

In Ps. 124 we find *âzâi* (which is not Aramaizing; contrast SIEGFRIED-STADE) and the meter requires the restoration of this archaic form also in Pss. 2, 4; 126, 2; the omission of the final *i* in these passages is due to haplography. The original pronunciation must have been, not *azâi*, but *azê*, and this represents an original *izê*; cf. *hamôr*, ass; ‘*anabîm*, grapes; *âlêhém*, to them = *himâr*, ‘*inabîm*, *ilaihim*. The initial *i* is preserved in Arab. *idâ*. The *ai* of *âzâi* (instead of *âzê* = *izê*) may be secondary; cf. Bibl. Aram. *êdâin* = Syr. *hâdên* and the remarks above on Talmudic *ammâi* = Assyr. *ammêni*.

Heb. *zê*, this, is a modification of *zâ* (cf. Heb. *timçênâ* = *timçânâ*, *timçâ'nâ*; *hêrâ* = *hârâ*, *hârrâ*; *paddênâ* = *paddânâ*; *sêlâ* = *sâllâ*; GB<sup>16</sup> 545<sup>a</sup>) while in the feminine form *zôî* = *zât* the *â* has been obscured to *ô*. Similarly Heb. *pê*, mouth, corresponds to the Assyrian accusative form *pâ*, and the construct state *pî* represents the Assyrian genitive *pî*. For the apocope of the final *ê* in *az* = *âzê* = *izê* we may compare the Hebrew prepositions ‘*al*, ‘*ad*, *el* = ‘*âlê*, ‘*âdê*, *êlê*; also *ma'l* and *ma'n* = *ma'lê*, *ma'nê*, and the pronouns *el* and *hallaz* = *êllê*, *hallazê* (AJSL 22, 253, n. 14). Similarly we find in Arabic *id* for *idâ*. The *Qamç* in Heb. *az* does not represent a long vowel, but an accented short vowel, just as the final *Çerê* in the Hebrew imperatives of the verbs *tertiæ* *i* (e. g. *rê'ê*, see) or in the construct state of nouns in *-ê* (e. g. *rô'ê*, seer; construct *rô'ê*) is not long, but accented (cf. *Nah.* 29, below; also GK<sup>28</sup>, p. 42 and ZA 9, 228). The *a* vowel in *az* = *inz* = *inzê* must be explained in the same way as in Heb. *bat*, daughter; *gat*, winepress; ‘*attâ*, now;

Šāšaq, Σέσωγχις = *bint*, *gint*, 'inta, Šušinq; cf. also *pat*, bite; *çad*, side; *baz*, spoil = *pitt*, *çidd*, *bizz*, and ἐκατόν = *centum* (see *Kings*, SBOT, 210, 9; BA 2, 378; BROCKELMANN, *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 45, n. 2; VG 147, g).

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## NOTE

In accordance with the object of the Society of Oriental Research, the Editor invites communications from young men who contemplate a career in Oriental studies. The Editor is already authorized to recommend a young man to a position which will give him four hundred dollars a year, his board and lodging, the use of a first-class Oriental library, and practically half his time to devote to Oriental studies. This position is still open.